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treasurer, postmaster, agricultural and sanitary inspectors are appointive positions. The provinces are roughly similar to American states while the municipalities correspond in many aspects to American counties. The mayors of the chartered cities, Dumaguete and Bacolod, are appointed by the President of the Philippines. One municipal district, Bago, is located in Negros Oriental; all the officials of this district are appointed by the provincial governor.

The Visayans

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This section is a brief introduction to the people of the Visayas with emphasis on the present inhabitants of Negros. The pre-Hispanic names for Negros were Buglas (Binglas), Nayon, and Mamaylan, the latter two probably derived from settlements in the vicinity of Himamaylan.[7]

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The Negritos or people of a mixed Indonesian-Papuan-Negrito stock were the first inhabitants of the Philippines.

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When the Spaniards first visited Buglas, they reported Negritos living on the island. "In one of the large islands there were so many of them [Negritos] that it is for that reason called the island of Negros."[8]

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Whether

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[7] Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas" (Relations of the Filipinas Islands), Iloilo City, Philippines, June, 1582. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909, V, p. 47.

[8] Francisco Colin, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs" (Labor Evangelica). Madrid, 1663. Translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XL, p. 45.

Whether certain groups of small, dark-skinned people in the Philippines are true Negritos is still a controversial issue. Negritos have been reported in Negros, Palawan, Panay, Luzon, Mindanao, Guimaras, Samar and Polillo. Estel, however, is able to find "no good metrical or photographic evidence for...Negrito groups in any area other than the provinces of Bataan and Zambales on the island of Luzon."[9] Beyer has separated the alleged Negritos of Panay and Negros from the main Negrito group as "non-Negroid or only partially Negroid people who are difficult to classify."[10]

The next racial group to arrive in the archipelago were Indonesians or Proto-Malays (Estel calls them Early Asiatics). Following this group came the Malaysians who may have originated in Central Asia and moved slowly into Southeast Asia and eventually the Philippines. The Malaysians, called Southern Mongoloid by Estel, are found mainly in the coastal regions of the archipelago and compose the bulk of the present population of the Philippines. The Malaysians settled as far north as Luzon; early Iron Age pottery has been found in Rizal and Bulacan provinces and Taboso, Escalante

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[9]Leo A. Estel, "Racial Origin in Northern Indonesia," Journal of East Asiatic Studies, II, No. 3 (April, 1953), p.1.

[10]H. Otley Beyer, Population of the Philippines in 1916: (Población de las Islas Filipinas en 1916). Manila, Philippine Education Company, 1917, p.60.

(Negros Occidental) which is remarkably like Malaysian finds in west-central Borneo.[11]

The culture of the modern Visayan Filipinos represents more than Indonesian and Malaysian elements. During the 8th or 9th centuries, A.D., emigrants from the empire of Sri-Vishaya pushed into already settled areas of Borneo and southern Philippines. Sri-Vishaya first developed in Sumatra and flourished from the 5th to the 14th centuries, although not as a compact empire during its latter years. Sri-Vishaya was nominally Buddhist, considerably modified by Brahmanistic ideas. Hindu influences also may have entered Sulu from the empire of Champa in southern Annam, Indo-China. In the traditional history of Sulu there is some evidence of Champa settlements in this region between the 9th and 12th centuries, A.D.[12]

Settlers came to Sulu and Mindanao and later to the central and eastern Visayas from one of the chief Sri-Vishayan culture centers, Bandjarmasin (Borneo). Most of the emigrants that reached Panay and Negros, appear to have come from another Sri-Vishayan culture

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[11] H. Otley Beyer, "Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces," The Philippine Journal of Science, LXXVII, Nos. 3-4 (July-August, 1947), p.292.

[12] H. Otley Beyer, "The Philippines Before Magellan. 1: The Hindus in Malaysia," Asia, XXI, No. 10 (October, 1921), p.862.

'Visayan' only for the areas just mentioned, while the people of Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte were for a long time known only as Pintados. The name 'Visayan' was later extended to them because...their languages are closely allied to the Visayan dialect of Panay.[15] 101

In 1942 there were about 7,200,000 Visayan Filipinos 161 living in more than twenty major islands and several hundred smaller ones. In addition to the coastal regions of 162 Mindanao, six large islands inhabited almost exclusively by Visayans are Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Panay, Leyte and Samar. (See Plate IV.)[1] The largest group of Visayans are the Cebuanos (3,940,000) who occupy Negros Oriental province, Cebu, Bohol and other Visayan islands. The barriofolk of Caticugan are almost entirely Cebuanos. The Panayanos (2,085,000) inhabit most of Negros Occidental province, Panay, Guimaras, and other Visayan islands. In 1942 the population of eastern Leyte and Samar island totalled 995,000, the people (most of whom) speaking a modified Cebuano dialect called Wari-Wari. A small enclave of people living in the Aklan River valley of Panay (about 180,000) may have migrated to the Philippines before the arrival of the Borneo emigrants who settled the island in the 13th century.[16]

The Cebuanos and Panayanos (the latter are often called Ilongos) speak different dialects. Beyer believes 197 174 that Cebuano is probably the least modified of the

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[15] G. Nye Steiger, H. Otley Beyer and Conrado Benitez, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, pp.122-3.

[16] H. Otley Beyer, "The People of the Philippines." Unpublished book manuscript. Manila, 1943, p.173.

[See p.36, Cat. 162--Analyst]

original Visayan tongue from which stem all other Visayan dialects. He states that prior to the arrival of Cebuano-speaking Filipinos, the dialect of eastern Leyte and Samar was basically Bicol and that of Panay was mainly Tagalog, the present national language of the Philippines. The Cebuano intrusion resulted in a blended Tagalog-Cebuano dialect in Panay and a Bicol-Cebuano blend in Leyte and Samar. The original dialects of Cebu, Bohol and Negros were displaced by the flood of emigrant Cebuanos.[17]

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Major Landform Regions of Negros

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The West Negros plain of Negros Occidental province is ranked among the larger plains of the Philippines and dominates an important part of the island's economy. (See Plate V.)[1] This moderately level plain is almost 100 miles in length and has a width of almost 30 miles in the locality of Bacolod. The plain has been subdivided into northern, west-central and southern sections.

The northern subdivision of this plain, with swampy coastal areas often covered with mangroves, is narrower than the southern or west-central subdivisions. Along the interior borders of the northern subdivision, the plain rises to join the central mountain system. The major crop, covering most of the land, is sugar cane. The west-central subdivision, one of the most important

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[17] Ibid., pp.174-8.

1 [See p.38, cat.133 -- ANALYST]

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constructed on the plaza to replace the building burnt by the Japanese. In 1948 a new concrete bridge was built (the pride of all the residents of the poblacion) over the Siaton River and a similar bridge over the Canaway River was finished in 1952. The Catholic church also was rebuilt in the same year. The former structure had been a temporary one since the 1925 earthquake. The fine two-story houses with ornate cement stairways that had been residences of the more affluent principalia and were burnt during the war have not been rebuilt. In parts of the poblacion one can see lonely cement stairways in weed-covered lots, leading upward to a house which no longer exists.

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Summary

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This historical survey of Caticugan and its larger milieu supports Kroeber's comments on stratificational aspects of Philippine culture.

> Layer after layer of culture is recognizable [in the Philippines], giving a complete transition from the most primitive condition to full participation in Western civilization...In the Philippines it is true that direct historical records...go back only four hundred years. But a constellation of circumstances has brought it about that the various ancient and modern influences that have reached the islands are often traceable to their sources...the contours

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> of the cultural events of the last two thousand years are substantially clear. We can peel off layer after layer of civilization [in the Philippines] and come to its original kernel with some assurance of certainty and without being forced to draw too heavily on imagination.[173]

While this chapter is not a definitive history of the larger setting of Caticugan--Negros Island--or the Visayas, the material highlights the origin and growth of Siaton and Caticugan.

Generally speaking, there have been seven major sources of contemporary Philippine culture: Negrito, Malaysian, Indian, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish and American. The Negritos are believed to have been the first inhabitants of the islands, although we can barely surmise the original contours of their culture. First in importance, from both a physical and cultural point of view, is the broad Malaysian base--the culture brought to the Philippines by emigrants from continental Asia. These people fixed, in so many ways, the general outline of Philippine culture that can still be seen today in Caticugan.

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During and after the Malaysians' arrival, new concepts of art, religion and technology came to the archipelago from China, India and the Middle East. These concepts largely were brought to the Philippines by Southeast Asians (Chinese excepted) Buddhist, Hindu, or Mohammedan Malaysians rather than Indians and Arabs.

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[173] Alfred L. Kroeber, Peoples of the Philippines. 2nd and revised edition. Handbook Series No. 8. New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1943. pp. 11-3.

Indian and Arabic concepts were reinterpreted by their bearers, in most cases, before the customs reached the Filipinos. The last two alien cultures to leave their imprint on the Filipinos were Spanish and American, often termed the western Christian strata. 177

Pre-Hispanic traditions and customs are still visible in Caticugan. Contacts with Negros' Negritos appear to have stopped in Siaton during the first part of the 20th century. Few people in Caticugan had ever seen a Negrito. Evidence of a slight Negrito imprint on the barriofolk's way of life exists, however, in the latter's agricultural rites, use of certain plants, and folklore. Yet the barriofolk of Caticugan took very little from the Negritos that remains today; the cultural interchange probably was in the opposite direction, from Filipinos to Negritos, as was typical in most of the Philippines. 174

Drastic reinterpretations of the pre-Hispanic Malaysian cultural base have occurred in Caticugan. However, animism is still a vital force in the community, perpetuating a major Filipino religious concept prior to the Spaniard's arrival. The resistance of the Malaysian stratum to Mohammedanism, Catholicism and Protestanism is remarkable. Few aspects of <u>barrio</u> life escape the influence of animism--hunting and gathering activities, fishing, agricultural practices, attitudes toward disease, and the concept of nature itself. Imitative magic, another Malaysian trait that spread as far west as Madagascar, also exists in Caticugan. 174 774 178 789

Influences that came from India, either through mainland Southeast Asia (Malaya or Champa) and directly to the Philippines, or indirectly from the southern islands of present-day Indonesia, are still apparent in Caticugan. The importance of astrology to determine the most opportune times for certain activities is typical of the Hinayana Buddhist countries of Burma and Thailand--and also China. Traces of art styles, first originating in India, can be seen in the Garuda-like heads on the bolos of Caticugan.

Beyer believes that the "principal phases" of Neolithic culture reached the Philippines directly from northern and southern China. From this period to the present, Chinese contacts with the Philippines have continued. If there is little visible Chinese content in Caticugan, this also is typical of the Philippines as a whole. Kroeber writes: "There is scarcely an institution, piece of knowledge, or religious belief current in the Philippines that can be derived with certainty from China."[174] The Chinese were rarely interested in meddling or interfering with Filipino ways of living; they came as merchants and their impact was largely economic.[175]

This is not to imply that the Chinese did not influence Philippine culture. Manuel documents the words

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[174] Kroeber, op. cit., p. 17.

[175] H. Otley Beyer, "Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China" in Arsenio E. Manuel, Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language. Manila, Filipiniana Publications, 1948, p. xvi.

LOWLAND RICE

Introduction

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When the Spaniards first visited Negros in the middle of the 16th century Filipinos were cultivating rice. Probably rice had been brought to the Philippines by nameless wanderers from Indo-China or south China in the late Neolithic period. The distribution of lowland rice in Negros and Siaton municipality has been described. As one travels up the Siaton River valley, the cultivation of lowland rice disappears north of Barrio Sandolot where there are only a few pilapils (rice paddies).

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The Agricultural Calendar (pages 273, 274, 275, and 276)[1] does not present a sharp picture of farming activities. Table XV presents a more detailed account of the planting and harvesting of rice and corn, the two major crops of Caticugan

TABLE XV

AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR FOR RICE AND CORN
CATICUGAN, 1951

CROP	PLANTING BEGAN	PLANTING FINISHED	TRANSPLANTING BEGAN	TRANSPLANTING FINISHED
	Rice Seed Beds			
Lowland rice	June 19	July 14	August 22	September 26

1 [Category 116 -- Analyst]

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The crosses are collected after the paddy has been harvested. Often one could see them in the tangkol (storehouse) or homes stuck into the wall until the next harvest. There is nothing sacred about these crosses; they are kept merely to save the trouble of making new ones next year. In Negros Occidental crosses are often put on the tops of the rice stacks--a custom never observed in Negros Oriental. [171]

This type of lihi is not limited to Caticugan or Negros. Lagrimas wrote in 1915 that when the rice is harvested in Samar the owner may request an old woman known as a "skilled harvest beginner" to start the harvest by going into the middle of the field and offering prayers to God and the harvest spirits.[30] To the best of my knowledge the prayers in Caticugan for this pre-harvest rice lihi are not addressed to the unseen spirits. However, it seems quite probable that the lihi originally was made to these unseen spirits as is done in the caingin rice loto. The conversion of the people to Catholicism led them to readdress their prayers to a new god and a new host of saints.

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Echauz describes a pre-harvest rice ceremony held by nominally Catholic inhabitants of Negros. Their ceremony, quite similar to the caingin loto, reflects pre-Spanish beliefs more purely than does the lowland rice harvest lihi of Caticugan. One might suggest that the

[30] Lagrimas, op. cit., p. 9.

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loto approximates the original form of this agricultural practice. The ceremony noted by Lagrimas may be one in which pagan and Christian beliefs are intermixed while the Caticugan lihi may be a final reinterpretation or modification.

Echauz writes that the night before the main harvest an owner would harvest seven gantas of rice from his paddy. Bayibayi--cooked new rice pounded and mixed with sugar and coconut--and Pilipig were made and then mixed and repounded into a mash. To this mixture was added ubas which appears to have been a roasted green rice concoction. The babaylan (priest) who had been engaged by the cultivator made a fire in the cultivator's house and screaming and "foaming at the mouth," he prayed to the unseen spirits. The next morning the babaylan and the paddy owner went to the field to be harvested and distributed the mash along the boundaries, requesting the unseen spirits to dine and to make the harvest plentiful. It was believed that anyone who ate any of this "food for the gods" would fall ill.[31]

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Caticugan rice is harvested by cutting a number of stalks at the time with the sangot, a small semi-circular bladed knife. The cut stalks are laid in piles on the paddy to dry; it takes only several days before the rice

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[31] Echauz, op. cit., pp. 50-1.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Caticugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangguete, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

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its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

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There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the mananguete prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

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Once the tree has been chosen the mananguete climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

48: Finley and Churchill G.E-5 (no date) 1913 OA1 Philippines OA1
Subanun OA33
Central Bisayan OA14

Yet we are not without data which may be applied toward the solution of the problem. The formative elements tell a tale of importance. In general we observe that the Visayan employs all the composition members which are in Subanu use. From the dictionary of Fray Juan Félix we find that the Visayan has in use a considerable number of such members which the Subanu lacks. This is particularly to be noticed in the matter of the infixes, those puzzling yet very convenient marks of a word-treatment which is just beginning to reach out toward inflectional value. From this we begin to form the impression that the Subanu represents an earlier phase of a common speech; that it has not undergone the development which accession of higher culture has induced among the Visayans.

The geography of the culture site of the Subanu leads us in the same direction. On the ethnographic chart in Father Algué's "Atlas de Filipinas" the Visayans are indicated as occupying a somewhat compact area in the mid Philippines. Their settlements are principally found on Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, Leyte, Sámar. North of this center the islands of Panay, Masbate, Tablas, Romblón, and Sibuyán show more or less extended occupation by this stock. Toward the south they are found in settlement at spots upon the north coast of Mindanao, on the east shore of the Bay of Iligan, on its west shore as far as Dapitan, on the northeast coast from Surigao to Lianga, and upon the outlying islands of Dinagat and Siargao. This plot shows distinctly the movement of the Visayans in their advance upon the archipelago, for it is indisputable that they are a Malayan race both linguistically and ethnologically.

From the tip of Borneo two well-marked lines lie before the coastwise seamen of the *prahu*. The northern line leads from the north shore of Borneo by Balbac, Paragua, and Busuanga direct to Mindoro, with not a trace of Visayans along the line. The southern line of approach, after leaving the south coast of Borneo, leads by Tawitawi, Joló, Basilan, and Zamboanga directly to the abodes of the Subanu and to the center of Visayan life and settlement spread over the area from Negros to Sámar. The position in which the Subanu lie relative to this broad avenue of Visayan migration indicates for them an early association with the main body of migrants. Having taken possession of this region north of Zamboanga, they withdrew to the interior of the country for the usual protection of weak peoples by evasion. Thus they lost touch with the greater members of their race; they remained undeveloped in their inland seclusion and now present an earlier type, perhaps the earliest type of the race which with greater freedom of development under better settlement conditions has marched forward to such progress as now marks the Visayan culture.

By combination of all these considerations we reach the conclusion that the Subanu are of the Visayan race, that their language represents an early phase of the Visayan, and that future investigation may bring